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Memorandum of the Government of the USSR on several urgent measures with regard to curbing the arms race and on disarmament.

From the very first days of its existence the Soviet Government has put forward as a basis of its foreign policy line the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and wars and has stood for the safeguarding of peace among people. Following the course pointed out by V. I. Lenin, the Soviet Government persistently and consistently has stood for the implementation of a broad program of measures in the area of curbing the arms race and of disarmament and for putting into effect a plan for general and complete disarmament.

The active struggle of socialist countries, of all peace loving states has permitted the implementation of a number of practical steps directed toward the limitation of the race of nuclear arms and toward disarmament. After the Moseow treaty on banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere and outer space and under water there followed the Treaty on Principles of activity of states in outer space, banning nuclear weapons in the cosmos. Now there has been worked out and ready for signature a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which has great significance for the course of strengthening peace and which creates favorable conditions for the further struggle for curbing the arms race, for implementing effective measures in the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The interest of insuring peace demands further steps directed toward the curbing of the arms race and toward disarmament. This is all the more important since as a result of the activation of aggressive forces, tension in international relations has increased, the aggressive war of America in Victuam is expanding, the occupation by Israel of the territory of a number of Arab states seized by force

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continues.

Following the conclusion of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons the Soviet Government proposes that agreement be reached on bringing into force as soon as possible the following urgent measures on termination of on the arms race and/disarmament.

1. Prohibition of Use of Nuclear Weapons

From the time the nuclear weapon came into being, the Soviet Union has consistently stood for the prohibition and complete liquidation of this weapon of mass destruction. An important step toward resolution of this task, toward elimination of the threat of nuclear war would be the conclusion of an international agreement on banning the use of nuclear weapons. Such an agreement would be a serious restraining factor for all those who might contemplate unleashing nuclear weapons. In the presence of suspicions by some states of the intentions of other states to use nuclear weapons, this agreement would facilitate improvement of the international atmosphere.

In order to facilitate the earliest resolution of this problem, the Government of the USSR has introduced at the 22nd Session of the General Assembly a draft convention on prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. A significant majority of delegations to the Assembly supported the idea of the necessity of concluding such an international convention. The Assembly called upon all states to study the draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons proposed by the Soviet Union, as well as other proposals which might be made on this question and to carry on discussions in the 18 Nation Committee on Disarmament or directly among states concerning the conclusion of an appropriate Convention

through calling an international conference.

For the purpose of a practical resolution of the question of banning the use of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Government proposes that the 18 Nation.

Committee discuss as a matter of first priority the draft convention on banning the use of nuclear weapons and exchange views on the calling of an international conference for signature of the corresponding convention.

2. Measures to end the production of nuclear weapons, reduction and

liquidation of stockpiles.

In an effort to/wwwww mankind/from this danger of nuclear war, the Soviet Government proposes to all nuclear powers that they immediately enter into negotiations on the termination of production of nuclear weapons, reduction of stockpiles and eventually a complete ban and liquidation of nuclear weapons under appropriate international control. The Soviet Government declares its readiness to begin at any time such negotiations with all other nuclear powers. In this, the Soviet Government proceeds from the assumption that in the course of such negotiations agreement could be reached on a whole complex of measures leading to the destruction of nuclear weapons as well as on several directed toward this aim.

√ 3. Limitation and subsequent reduction of means of delivery of strategic weapons.

The Soviet Government proposes agreement on concrete steps in the area of limitation and subsequent reduction of strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Government in this proceeds from the assumption that destruction of the whole arsenal of strategic means of delivery and, in any case, the reduction of this arsenal to an absolute minimum, with the retention, and this only temporarily, of only a strictly limited quantity of such means, would

be a measure conducive to elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

The Soviet Government declares its readiness to conduct an exchange of opinions with interested states on mutual limitations and subsequent reduction of strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons.

14. Prohibition of flights of bombers with nuclear weapons on board beyond national boundaries and

Limitation on operating areas for ballistic missile submarines.

The Soviet Government has several times called attention of governments of other states and world public opinions to the danger which is represented by flights of bombers with nuclear weapons on board beyond national boundaries.

The catastrophes which have taken place involving American bombers with nuclear have weapons on board beyond the national boundaries of the USA han given rise to legitimate alarm on the part of various countries. There is no guarantee that a routine involving a bomber armed with nuclear bombs would not cause a nuclear explosion with all the consequences that would flow from this, In the present tense situation such an explosion could ignite a whole chain of serious developments, could lead to a conflict, danger for all mankind. From the military point of view, these flights of bombers make no sense in the context of the existence of nuclear missiles. They can have only one purpose: to increase international tension, without considering the consequences of such a dangerous practice.

The Soviet Government proposes an immediate ban on flights beyond national boundaries of bombers with nuclear weapons on board. The Soviet Government also proposes, for the purpose of lessening the danger of the outbreak of nuclear war, that agreement be reached on ending patrols by ballistic missile submarines armed with nuclear missiles within the limits of range of these missiles from parties.

5. Prohibition of Underground Tests of Nuclear Weapons

The Soviet Union has been and remains a firm supporter of the prohibition of all tests of nuclear weapons and considers a prohibition of all tests would serve the interests of strengthening peace and weakening the arms race. The Soviet Government is ready without delay to agree on a prohibition of underground tests of nuclear weapons on the basis of the use of national means of detection for verification of such a prohibition.

6. Prohibition of the Use of Chemical and Baderiological Weapons

The Soviet Government has repeatedly drawn the attention of nations to the threat that the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons represents to mankind. Reflecting the general concern of peoples in connection with this threat, the XXI Session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution which contains a summons to strict observance by all nations of the principles of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, condemns all actions contradictory of this purpose, and proposes to all nations accession to the Geneva Protocol.

However, some nations, and first of all the United States of America, do not fulfill this important decision of the General Assembly. Moreover, the USA uses chemical weapons in its aggressive war in Vietnam. In view of this, the Soviet Covernment proposes that the ENDC review the paths and means of ensuring the fulfillment by all nations of the mas Geneva Protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

7. The Elimination of Foreign Military Bases

Foreign military bases on others' territories constitute a serious danger to peace. Such bases serve as sources for the outbreak of military conflicts, and threaten the freedom and independence of peoples. The continuing United States of America aggressive war in Vietnam as well as tension and conflicts in other regions of the world where foreign bases are located convincingly testify to this.

The Soviet Government proposes, in conformity with the instructions of XXI Session of the United Nations General Assembly, promptly to examine in the ENDC the question of the climination of foreign military bases.

8, Regional Disarmament Measures

The Soviet Government supports the creation of nuclear free zones in various regions of the world. In this it proceeds from the assumption that the formation of such zones must effectively limit the sphere of deployment of nuclear weapons and in full measure be responsive to the task of preventing their direct or indirect proliferation.

The Soviet Government considers that obligations in the establishment of nuclear free zones may be undertaken not only by groups of states encompassing entire continents or large geographic regions but also by more limited groups of states or even individual nations.

The Soviet Government similarly supports proposals for/realization of measures of regional disarmament and reduction of armament in various regions of the world, including the Near East. The question of such measures for limitation of the arms race in the Near East could be examined, naturally, only on condition of the elimination of the aftermath of the Israeli aggression against the Arab states, and first of all, the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory of Arab nations occupied by them.

9. The Peaceful Use of the Bed of Seas and Oceans

The interests of reducing the arms race are served by limiting military use of those environments in which man lives and functions, and by preventing such use of new environments of human activity. The Soviet Government has

and states with satisfaction that important practical steps in this direction are the appropriate limitations fixed by the Antarctic Agreement and the Agreement on the Principles Governing the Activity of States in the Colestial Exploration and Use of Outer Space Including the Moon and Other Exercise Bodies.

The course of exploration and the prospects for mastering the bed of seas and oceans permit the question to be raised of a timely establishment in appropriate form of a regime which would ensure the use of the sea bottom beyond the limits of existing territorial waters solely for peaceful purposes.

The same would prohibit, in particular, the creation of stationary installations of military designation on the sea bottom, as well as other activities of a military character. The Soviet Government proposes to begin in the ENDC talks on the question of the use of the sea bottom beyond the limits of existing territorial waters solely for peaceful purposes.

In proposing the above-mentioned measures, the Soviet Government directs attention to the need for making every effort to achieve concrete results in the resolution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government deems it necessary to activate negotiations on this question in the 18 Nation Committee on Disarmament. Meanwhile, it stands for the implementation of the decision of the United Nations General Assembly on calling a world disarmament conference and expresses its conviction that the calling of such a conference would facilitate a resolution of this most important task confronting mankind.

Guided by its line of principle in questions of the struggle for peace, the Soviet Union in cooperation with socialist countries, with all peace loving states will press for the climination of the threat of nuclear war, for the leashing of forces of aggression, for the implementation of a broad program of disarmament. The Soviet Government appeals to all states to do attainment everything possible for the advancement of agreement on the urgent steps of terminating the arms race and on disarmament.